

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM KELLOGG, OF ILLINOIS.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JANUARY 12, 1858.

The CHAIRMAN stated that the pending question was on the amendment of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Thayer] to the amendment of the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Maynard,] moving the reference of a portion of the message to a special committee; and that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Kellogg] was entitled to the floor.

MR. KELLOGG. Mr. Chairman, whether this measure now before the Committee is really intended to sustain the honor and character of our country or not, or whether it is intended merely as a pretext to heroize Mr. Walker, or subsequently to subjugate Nicaragua, is hard to determine from the debates which have taken place upon this floor. But one thing is certain, that from the indications here, and from the arguments that have been adduced in this House, it is due to the President of the United States that his proposition relating to this question should be placed in the hands of his friends. Mr. Chairman, if ever a President of the United States needed the supporting hands of his friends, it is now. Who, sir, can tell which is the Administration party on this floor? Who can tell, in this day of Democracy, which and what are the Administration measures. Look you to the Senate. The Warwick of the Administration in that body has refused it his support; and standing aloof, proudly conscious of his strength, like the Warwick of England, he hurls defiance at the Administration. In this House,

sir, who are the friends of the Administration? In this House, the Iron Duke—the Wellington of the party—has refused his support to the measures of the Administration, now tottering before the end of the first quarter of its existence. It came into power with a national Treasury bursting with plethora. Now, before the end of the first year, the Treasury is empty and the Government bankrupt. The Central American question is pressing hard upon the President. Filibusterism is about to overwhelm him. Then, again, the Kansas outrage, which he seems to be pressing forward with the view of the destruction of freemen's rights, is hurled back upon him from nearly every portion of the country, until he is ready to sink under it. Yea, sir, Utah has defied the power of the General Government, and Brigham Young, from his harem, laughs the Government to scorn. This, sir, is the position of the Administration. Sir, methinks I hear the President now exclaiming, "Save me from my friends!" May we, then, not exclaim, "What an immortality of fame awaits the sage of Wheatland!"

In discussing the question before the Committee, I propose to base what few remarks I have to make upon record evidence, upon the evidence of the annual message of the President, and upon the evidence of the message received this morning; I propose to base it upon correspondence between Walker and the officers of the navy, which is now a part

of the history of the country; I propose to base it, sir, upon the arguments which have been adduced in this Committee; and then, I propose to show that there is abundance of evidence to prove that the Administration was right in the commencement, and right in every position taken by it in relation to Nicaragua, up to the time of the return of Walker to this country by the act of Commodore Paulding. I propose to show that its acts were strictly in accordance with the duties which we owe to foreign countries, as well as to the duties we owe to ourselves to sustain our national honor and reputation.

I propose, also, to discuss the right of Paulding to land upon the soil of Nicaragua as a mere matter of right, and also with the further consent of that Government, for that had been given; and, because of that right, to show that it became our duty to cause the arrest of the invading force, and that every step taken by Commodore Paulding, who has been arraigned before this Committee, was in strict accordance with the law of nations, and with the instructions of the President. If the President has been derelict in duty at all, it was in not adopting measures sufficiently stringent to have prevented Walker from leaving our shores, and in not arresting and holding him for trial when he was returned within our jurisdiction.

I propose now, for a moment, to call the attention of the Committee to the annual message of the President of the United States; and in speaking of the conduct of Walker I shall use no stronger language than has been employed in that message. I propose to use no epithets in reference to William Walker, or connected with him, except those which I find in the message of the President.

The great question before this House, and before the country, is not a question between Walker and Com. Paulding. It is not a question between Walker and his friends and the Government of the United States; but it is a question whether this Government has discharged

its duty and sustained its honor. That is the question above all others which the people will recognise; that is the question which they will discuss; and it is the question which they will decide when they fix the fate of men in high places. Mere technicalities and forms are mere trifles, when compared with the great principles of national rights and national duties of this great Republic of ours. I read from the President's message:

"It is one of the first and highest duties of any independent State, in its relations with the members of the great family of nations, to restrain its people from acts of hostile aggression against their citizens or subjects. The most eminent writers on public law do not hesitate to denounce such hostile acts as robbery and murder.

"Weak and feeble States, like those of Central America, may not feel themselves able to assert and vindicate their rights. The case would be far different, if expeditions were set on foot within our own territories to make private war against a powerful nation. If such expeditions were fitted out from abroad against any portion of our own country, to burn down our cities, murder and plunder our people, and usurp our Government, we should call any Power on earth to the strictest account for not preventing such enormities."

And now, sir, when an officer of the General Government, with instructions in his pocket to enforce the laws of the country, has seized the man whom the President denounces as a robber and a murderer; when an expedition is arrested, going from this powerful Government to a weak Republic, with a view to invasion of its territory and the destruction of its Government—before this great and generous people, in the Hall of the Representatives of the people of this nation, where is supposed to be found the sentiment of America, an officer who, under the banner of his country, did his country's bidding, has to be put on trial whether he or General Walker is the better man. It is made a question, whether Walker is the hero, and Paulding the intermeddling official. It is a strange issue, which I will discuss more hereafter than at the present moment. The President, in his message, says the leader of the recent expedition was arrested at New Orleans, and was

discharged on giving bail in the insufficient sum of \$2,000.

Are these principles of the message found only in the enactments of our statute-book? Are they to be found first in an act of a Legislature? No, sir; they are found in that portion of the international law which was recognised as soon as Governments began. They are the great principles of eternal justice, that exist as well between man and man as between nation and nation; they are to be found in the duty which we owe to one another and in the respect which we owe to ourselves. They are to be found in the rights of Nicaragua. The fact is, that when we are just to others, we sustain our own character and dignity. Because we are powerful, we owe it to Nicaragua to protect her from aggressive invasion from our own territory, on the part of lawless adventurers. We ought, with a view to our own character, to discharge that duty fully. I repeat, that it is the principle originally found in the law of necessity and the law of right between nation and nation, which the President has recognised in his message to the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to call the attention of the Committee to the facts and principles which are presented in this case, with a view to the action which ought to be taken by this Government; this is a principle found, not in our statute-book, but in the law of nations. This ground has already been taken by gentlemen who have spoken on this question. I read from an authority that will not, I think, be questioned, which defines the right of Nicaragua, and the duty on our part to be observed. In speaking of sovereigns, Vattel says:

"If a sovereign, who might keep his subjects within the rules of justice and peace, suffers them to injure a foreign nation, either in its body or its members, he does no less an injury to that nation than if he injured them himself. In short, the safety of the State, and that of human society, requires this attention from every sovereign. If you let loose the reins of your subjects against foreign nations, these will behave in the same manner to you; and instead of that friendly in-

tercourse which nature has established between all men, we should see nothing but one nation robbing another."

Strange as it may seem, there seems to be a portion of the members of this body who are making for Mr. Walker all the excuses and justifications that can be made, regardless of the duty and honor of Government, the rights of Nicaragua, or the justice due Commodore Paulding. If he be in truth the hero, if he be in truth the patriot that they make him by their charges against Commodore Paulding, who has faithfully executed the laws of the Government, then I ask that the charge be made against the President and the Administration. Let them be charged home upon the policy of this Government, and not upon the head of a meritorious and valuable officer of the navy. Walker was expelled from Nicaragua. Whether he was ever elected its President or not, is not important for me to inquire. If he was so elected, his election was secured by the force of American arms, and by the votes of invaders from our own soil. By the aid of American depredators, he may have kept up for a time a successful rebellion there. But the natives of the country in their strength drove him from their borders, and the broad flag of our country floated at the mast-head of the vessel which in sympathy brought away the wretched and ruined remnant of his followers.

It is said on my left, that not one of them was hanged. No, sir, none; who would hang such unfortunate men—men depressed in spirits, diseased, and ruined, who had been seduced from their homes by the hope of plunder? Instead of hanging, it would have been better to have sent them where the rights of man are respected, and the rights of Governments held sacred.

He was expelled from the country, and he came to our shores. And, now, mark what is the basis of all this matter before the country. Do you suppose that Commodore Paulding is the originator of that? Do you suppose that it originated outside of the Executive Mansion? No,

sir; it originated there, and there is where the fierce artillery should be felt.

The Administration receives some support—however feeble it may be—on the Republican side of the House. But this I have to say, that I believe, in my heart and soul, that when the honor of the country is concerned, when the country is in danger, then you will find rallying round its standard the entire Republican force of the country. We are not filibusters; we are not hero-makers. We desire our country to move steadily onward, peacefully, justly, but with certain progression; and if she shall reach with her influence Central America, I say—God speed. If it shall reach and embrace the islands of the sea, I say—it is well; but let us move forward peacefully, justly, and progressively; in accordance with the character, spirit, and genius of the age.

Walker was expelled from Nicaragua by its inhabitants; and again fitting out another expedition of invasion, our Government interposed its power to enforce its own laws and protect Nicaragua. And this act of ours is somewhat consulting the country, and more particularly the Democratic party—though with that I find no particular objection, for if each branch of that party should do justice to the other, and purge it well, it would, I think, be of benefit to the country.

When Walker was about to return to Central America, (I ask gentlemen upon the other side to look at the records of the country,) the official who represented Central America at our Government demanded that our Government should exercise her rights and discharge her duty to that Republic, and sustain her own reputation. I ask here to read a communication signed by him who is now the minister from that Republic to this Government, who was then unrecognised, but who was acting, in connection with another, in behalf of Central America. I read now a letter signed by A. J. De Yrisarri and Luis Molina, and also the instructions of General Cass, prompted by this complaint. They are as follows:

NEW YORK, *September 14, 1857.*

The undersigned, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Guatemala and Salvador, and the Chargé d'Affaires of the Republic of Costa Rica, have the honor to make known to the Secretary of State of the United States, that there is no doubt that there is being prepared, in the southern part of this Republic, an expedition, under the orders of the adventurer, William Walker, the which, according to the advices published in the public journals, will sail about the middle of the present month, or the beginning of the next, and will proceed to the Bocas del Toro, where it will receive the armament which has been prepared in this port of New York to be forwarded to said point. It is probable that the uniting of the expeditionists and the aforesaid armament, at the Bocas del Toro, may be for the purpose of these new invaders of Nicaragua entering the port of San Juan del Norte, for they have no other port at which they can enter. The undersigned hope that the Government of the United States, in view that it cannot prevent the debarkation of this expedition, so publicly and shamelessly announced, like all the others, will order that a vessel of war of the United States prevent the landing of these aggressors in the Bocas del Toro, and that positive orders be given to the vessel of war that may be lying in San Juan del Norte, also to prevent the landing of the said filibusters on that coast, causing them to return to the United States, as transgressors of the laws of this country, and as disturbers of the peace and security of friendly nations.

With the highest consideration, the undersigned have the honor to subscribe themselves, of the Secretary of State of the United States, the attentive and obedient servants.

A. J. YRISARRI.

HON. LEWIS CASS.

LUIS MOLINA.

WASHINGTON, *September 18, 1857.*

SIR: From information received at this Department, there is reason to believe that lawless persons are now engaged within the limits of the United States in setting on foot and preparing the means for military expeditions to be carried on against the territories of Mexico, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica—Republics with whom the United States are at peace—in direct violation of the sixth section of the act of Congress, approved 20th April, 1818. And, under the eighth section of the said act, it is made lawful for the President, or such persons as he shall empower, to employ the land and naval forces of the United States, and the militia thereof, "for the purpose of preventing the carrying on of any such expedition or enterprise from the territories or jurisdiction of the United States." I am, therefore, directed by the President to call your attention to the subject, and to urge you to use all due diligence, and to avail yourself of all legitimate means at your command, to enforce these and other provisions of the said act of 20th April, 1818, against those who may be found to be engaged in setting on foot or preparing mil-

itary expeditions against the territories of Mexico, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua, so manifestly prejudicial to the national character, and so injurious to the national interest. And you are hereby instructed promptly to communicate to this Department the earliest information you may receive relative to such expeditions.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

LEWIS CASS.

My object in having the papers read was to show the basis of our present state of affairs; to show that Nicaragua herself proposed that the expedition should be arrested, and that Walker and his party should be brought back to the Government of the United States. There is the complaint of the offended country. That country, by her representative—not then recognised, but recognised since and before this aggression, as the minister of that nation—made application that this man Walker and his confederates should be arrested and brought back from the shores of Nicaragua. Now, what was the object of that? Was the object to sustain our law, and to enforce the penalty against Walker? No, sir; there was a broader and a higher necessity; there was a greater and more dangerous evil threatening; and it was to bring back from Nicaragua those men who were carrying on an invasion against that nation. It was to save and protect that State, and to take into custody those who were despoiling that Government. That was the reason, and the only reason. The Secretary of State, in accordance with that request of the representative of that State, issued his order to the navy, to the army, to the marshals, and to the civil authorities, to uphold the rights of Nicaragua, and save the laws of our Confederacy from violation.

Do gentlemen suppose that there is no other point in this case than the question whether General Walker should be imprisoned? Do gentlemen suppose that the question is between Walker and Paulding? Do gentlemen suppose that the question which agitates this country is whether Walker is a hero, or whether Paulding is an honorable man? No, sir. What, then, was the

object of that order? It was to do what the Government of Nicaragua asked should be done. The object of that order of Secretary Cass was to carry out the request, and to execute the law, for the purpose of the protection of Nicaragua. Now, I desire that gentlemen should meet this question upon this high ground, and to strike home to the very object of the order. If the House cannot see that the object of that application, and of that order, was the security of Nicaragua, then I am much mistaken in the judgment of this House. Now, if this was the order given to Paulding, if it was the heart and soul of the requisition, where was he to execute it? Gentlemen talk of writs and jurisdiction of a marine league—talk of the high seas—talk of the coast, but they must remember that our navy is the great power by which our international laws are enforced. It is the ministerial power in the hands of the Executive. Where American commerce is outraged, no writ issues. Where American rights are invaded, no legal order issues—nothing but the general order of the Executive—to enforce our rights and redress our grievances.

I ask gentlemen to turn their attention to the case of Ingraham. What was the order to Ingraham? None on earth. But his mission was to protect American rights; and what did he do? Without the knowledge of the Executive, without an order from the Government, Ingraham went aboard an Austrian vessel of war, and took therefrom Koszta, who had only declared his intention to become an American citizen. What order had he for that act? Nothing but the order of the law; nothing but the order of the genius of our country—an order written on the flag which bears the stars and stripes. That act was sustained by our Government, and shed new lustre upon the naval arm of the Government. Where American rights need protection and enforcement, the naval power of the country is present to enforce those rights.

Nicaragua had the right to hold our Government responsible for the protection of her territory from the aggressions of American citizens; and if such is the duty of our Government, is it to be said that it has no power to fulfil that duty? If that were true, then it would be the duty of Congress to bestow such power on the Executive as would enable it to carry on the machinery of the Government; justice to other nations and to our own character demands it.

In regard to the question whether Commodore Paulding was justified in entering on the soil of Nicaragua, and arresting those whom the President designates murderers and robbers, I propose to consider it in two phases: first as against Walker, and second as against the sovereignty of Nicaragua, with which Republic we are at peace, and a minister of which, to our Government, we recognise in this capital.

Walker was amenable to the laws of the United States. So says the President. He was arrested and held to bail. I was astonished to hear gentlemen of learning in this House say that Walker, having given bail, should not have been again arrested. Do gentlemen not remember that that bail was taken before an examining court? And do they not remember that the decision of an examining court is never final? But, apart from technicality, do gentlemen not remember that the act for which Walker was arrested by Commodore Paulding was perpetrated subsequently to the time when he was first arrested and admitted to bail? It will not be said, it cannot be said, that that bail gave him immunity for all time. It cannot be said that the court at New Orleans could grant an immunity and indulgence to him to commit murder and robbery on the soil of another country. And when he and his followers were arrested on the soil of Nicaragua, what right has he to complain? What right can his friends show for him here, because of the place of his arrest?

I lay it down as a rule of law and a

rule of justice, an eternal right—whether on the statute-books or in the mere elements of law—that he who violates the law cannot make to himself a city of refuge. Nowhere on God's earth—on the ocean, on shipboard, on a foreign soil, or in a desolate land—can he make to himself a place or city of refuge. The law follows him, and, as against him, he may be seized wherever he may be found. This is the law recognised everywhere. When a murderer or a robber who commits a crime in one State and flees to another, and is there arrested without the permission of that State, and is returned for trial, and puts in his plea that he was not legally arrested, what then? Why, the judge responds, "You are in court; you have broken the law of the land, and you are liable to punishment." It would be a strange plea for a murderer who escapes from Illinois, and is arrested in Indiana, and brought back, to say that he was illegally arrested. Do you suppose that that plea would be heeded? Nay, further: Suppose the State of Indiana demanded the return of such murderer, my opinion is, that the response of the State of Illinois, Virginia, Mississippi, or North Carolina, would be, "We will hang him first, and then send him back. He murdered our citizen, and is amenable to our laws!"

And, sir, if it should now come to this, that Nicaragua should so far forget her flag, and her own honor and dignity, as to ask for the return of Walker, my proposition would be to fine and imprison him, and then let Nicaragua do with him just as it may please. That would be just, and would carry out, I think, the policy of the Administration.

And now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to say a few words as to the right of Nicaragua herself to complain.

Speaking of the right of one Government to enter the territory of another, Vattel, a book of authority on the law of nations, says:

"It cannot, then, without doing an injury to the State, enter, sword in hand, into a territory in pursuit of a criminal, and take him from thence.

This would be an invasion of territory, and an injury to the sovereignty of such State."

That, sir, is the authority on the other side of the House on this question. And how does it affect the question before us? Why, sir, in this manner: it follows that you have no right to enter the territory of another, sword in hand; because you invade a great principle of independent sovereignty by so doing. But mark you, if you enter that territory for the purpose of sustaining its integrity; if you enter it to preserve its life; if you enter it to preserve it from violation and conquest by an aggressor, a pirate, or robber; then, if you enter the territory of another, even without its consent, you have violated no principle of justice, sovereignty, or right, because you have done no wrong, but have saved the life of its Government.

That is the doctrine, sir, which I lay down; and now let me apply it to Nicaragua. The principle is the same as in the common affairs of life. Our police officers are bound to keep the peace; but suppose they hear threatenings of murder, or see demonstrations for the destruction of human life, it is then their duty to be on the alert; the dagger is raised to strike; the officer steps on the soil owned by the threatened victim. Has he no right to enter there? Sir, our officers have the right to enter upon the premises of another when they go there, because it is their duty to save the life of the individual.

Sir, we have entered Nicaragua in the discharge of a higher duty—to save that Government from subjugation by the hands of an armed force from our own country. We have done it at the request of that Government, to save it from spoliation and ruin. Will the man over whose head the sword has been suspended, turn round, after his life has been saved, and say, "Why did you enter my grounds? Why did you come upon my premises?" The reply is, "To save your life." "True, you have saved my life. It was your duty; but I will prosecute you for coming on my ground." That is the doctrine of gentlemen in relation to Nicaragua and General Walker. But, sir, I wish to call the attention of the Committee to another fact, and then ask them whether they wish this Government to return Walker to Nicaragua or not. The Government of Nicaragua have asked for his expulsion; and now do they ask for his return? No, sir! Our Government has acted precisely in accordance with the request of that Government, and they are estopped by their own act from asking for his return to Nicaragua. They have asked for his expulsion, and this Government has expelled and returned him and his invading force to the United States in accordance with this request. The President

says they have not complained. Who, then, shall complain?

But, again, can they complain? If it was our duty to enter their territory to protect them from aggression, we must have the means of protection. But it is said that Commodore Paulding entered the territory of Nicaragua in violation of his duty. Sir, his duty was to anticipate and prevent the carrying on of such an expedition from our shores. I ask you if it was not in accordance with his instructions to stop and prevent that aggression and that wrong? Sir, it was; and that could not be done by any other means. The act which he performed was simply to prevent an aggression and a wrong against Nicaragua. The moment the expedition left our shores, he was carrying it on. The moment he reached Nicaragua, he was carrying it on. The moment he planted his standard upon Nicaraguan soil, he was carrying on or executing an act which the President denominates robbery and murder.

Sir, Nicaragua cannot complain, and General Walker cannot complain. Nicaragua has not complained. We have not invaded her territory; we have simply taken a criminal which they asked us to take and return to our shores. He was a criminal by law, and we have taken him. There is no man who can justly say that the act was in violation of any principle of justice or right.

Now, sir, if I am right in my deduction, I wish to call the attention of the friends of the Administration to the position in which they stand. I want to know whether they are vaporing or not. I want to know whether James Buchanan, the chief of the nation, was in earnest, when he boldly declared his intention to arrest these murderers and robbers? I ask those gentlemen who sustain him on this floor to answer that question. Where is Walker, sir? Is he not within your jurisdiction? Where is he?

A MEMBER. In Richmond, Virginia.

MR. KELLOGG. In Richmond, Virginia. Well, sir, I heard a few days ago that he was in this capital. Now, sir, if Walker was an aggressor, and if the President was right when he issued his instructions to Commodore Paulding, I ask you why they did not arrest him when he was within the jurisdiction and power of the General Government? He was taken by an officer of the navy. My friend from Tennessee [Mr. Maynard] said that he submitted to the flag of his country. I have great respect for the opinions of the honorable gentleman from Tennessee; but I confess that I have not been able to see a great stretch of magnanimous conduct in not running away when he had given his parole of honor, especially as he could not get away if he would.

But, sir, I was proceeding to say, that when Walker had been taken by Commodore Paulding, and brought to New York, he came into

the hands of the marshal of the southern district of New York. Was this Administration vamping when it denounced Walker as a robber and murderer? And if not, why did they dismiss him in peace, when he was in their power? Why did the President and Secretary of State let him go, when Marshal Rynders had brought him to them? The President has told you that this man had committed dangerous crimes. He was arrested by our authority, and under our jurisdiction. The President has told you this morning that the Government of Nicaragua makes no complaint; and still a great criminal, according to the language of the President, is at large and feasted. He is made a lion of, and if the Administration do not well look to it, he will put his paw upon their head.

If the Committee will bear with me, I will read what perhaps may be a solution of this mystery, that this was but a mere pretence of honesty and determination to maintain the rights of others, which it was never intended to execute. I believe that there were two blunders: the President of the United States mistook the Commodore, and the Commodore mistook the President. The President issued his order to arrest, but supposed the Commodore would bluster, but fail to find Walker; but the Commodore, unlike a politician who could find some ready excuse for not doing it, and like one in the habit of obeying orders, thought the President meant just what he said, and arrested Walker, and brought him back. I read from Mr. Walker's letter, which was published in the newspapers, and which has never been contradicted:

"I have the honor to report these facts to you, and to request that you will cause Commander Chatard to cease this unjust and illegal conduct. As a native of the United States, engaged in what your Government admits to be a lawful undertaking, and awaiting rights which cannot but commend themselves to the sense of justice of all civilized nations, I claim as my due that you shall not permit the sovereignty of Nicaragua to be violated by the commander of the *Saratoga*, for the purpose of gratifying his opinions or his prejudices. With full confidence, I ask from your hands that justice which it is the proud boast of your Government to award to all.

"I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

WILLIAM WALKER,

Commander in Chief Army of Nicaragua.

"Com. PAULDING, U. S. Navy."

I do not know whether Walker intended to bring the Administration into difficulty. He said, in his communications to officers of the navy, that the Government admitted the justice of his enterprise and the lawfulness of his undertaking. If that be so, then the President meant nothing. If it be not true, why then do they not arrest General Walker while he is in the jurisdiction of the United States? The country demands his arrest, and if the Administration be true to itself and the country, the arrest will be made. I suppose the *furor* is all to be in debate, and not in action, and that Walker is to pass free.

I want to say another word in reference to Paulding. I have suggested that Paulding was on trial here; and do gentlemen know the character of Paulding? Do they know that he is an able and efficient officer of the navy, who has fought the battles of the country? He is an honorable man, and from the stock that captured Andre. He is the son of that John Paulding who captured Major Andre during the revolutionary struggle. Look now at his case and the one similar to it which I have referred to. In the one case, Congress, by resolution, voted a medal and its thanks; and the other, the case of Commodore Paulding, for arresting a man who it has been said was a disgrace to the flag of the country and a depredator upon the rights of man and nations, he is denounced in the Halls of Congress.

When the people come to make up a record, when they come to take action on this subject, they will look at the question as one of good faith and justice. They will make the record of Commodore Paulding as clear and bright as that of this father.

I have thus, Mr. Chairman, briefly discussed the points in the case, with a view to bring before this Committee, the Administration, and the friends of Gen. Walker, the relative positions which they occupy upon the record. I desire nothing more than that the nation's honor shall be maintained, and that we shall be true to ourselves. The United States should respect the rights of weaker nations, as ours, if she were the weaker nation, should like to be respected. This is demanded by the country and the civilized world, and it is demanded in justice to Commodore Paulding and in justice to the Administration itself.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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